
**Clear and Convincing:
The Links between the
PFLP and the European
Government-funded
NGO Network**

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NGO Monitor's mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGOs claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas.

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Executive Summary

On October 22, 2021, Israel designated six Palestinian NGOs as terrorist entities due to their links to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP): Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P), Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), Al-Haq, Addameer, Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC), and Bisan Center for Research and Development (Bisan). A seventh – Health Work Committees (HWC) – had been designated in January 2020. The PFLP itself is designated as a terrorist organization by a number of countries and bodies, including the US, EU, Israel, and Canada.

Since then, the NGOs, donor governments, and allies in civil society and the UN have claimed they have not seen anything to justify the designations.

The evidence presented in this report – compiled exclusively from open source materials – proves this narrative inadequate and inaccurate. Irrespective of the information possessed by the Israeli government and intelligence agencies and the criteria for designation, **there is overwhelming, publicly available evidence that ties these NGOs and their leadership to the PFLP. On its own, this should have been enough of a reason for European governments not to fund and/or partner with the NGOs.**

Of particular note, we found:

- The PFLP has issued statements of support for the designated NGOs, and numerous other sources indicate organizational links between many of the designated entities and the terror group.
- Three NGO officials – Samer Arbid, Walid Hanatsheh, Abdel Razeq Farraj – indicted and standing trial for their alleged involvement in a **deadly August 2019 bombing** that killed an Israeli teenager. All of them have been claimed by the PFLP as members of the terror group.
- Nine NGO officials **convicted for their involvement in planning or executing other terrorist attacks.**
- **Thirty-seven additional NGO officials** affiliated with the PFLP.

- Five financial institutions – Citibank, Arab Bank, American Express, Visa, Mastercard – **shut down online donations and accounts** of PFLP-linked NGOs.
- In 2022, the Dutch government announced the results of an 18-month audit conducted by a Dutch firm that identified **34 individuals** who held positions in both UAWC and the PFLP between 2007-2020. As a result, the Netherlands canceled its contract with UAWC.

As European sources and officials have noted, simply affiliating with a terrorist organization can disqualify an organization or individual from receiving EU support. For instance, as confirmed in a [June 2020 letter from the Office of the President of the European Commission to NGO Monitor](#), “[EU] rules make the participation of entities, individuals or groups affiliated linked or supporting terrorist organisations incompatible with any EU funding.”

Similarly, in a [June 2020 letter from Josep Borrell](#), Vice President of the European Commission, to a number of MEPs, he reaffirms that “specific clauses have been introduced in individual grant agreements, obliging every beneficiary managing EU funds to refrain from engaging in incitement to violence or hatred. These rules make the participation of entities, individuals or groups affiliated, linked to or supporting terrorist organisations incompatible with any EU funding.”

Moreover, in May 2022, the European Parliament approved the 2020 discharge report, “[EU General Budget – Commission and Executive Agencies](#),” one of the EU’s most important budgetary documents. The document clearly calls on the Commission to “thoroughly verify the use of Union funds by third entities, their affiliates, and/or natural persons to ensure that no funds are allocated or linked to any cause or form of terrorism and/or religious and political radicalisation; make sure that individuals or groups affiliated, linked to or supporting terrorist organizations are excluded from Union funding; ensure that those Union funds are proactively recovered, and that the recipients involved are excluded from future Union funding.”

Because our research is based on open source information and subject to the transparency (or lack thereof) on the part of NGOs, it is distinctly possible that more officials are affiliated to the PFLP and/or involved in terror-tied activities.

As described in great detail below, these findings are based on statements from the PFLP acknowledging NGO officials as members, the alleged involvement of NGO officials in terrorist attacks, arrests and convictions of NGO leaders on terror-related charges, and participation in and/or support for PFLP activities.

There are also Palestinian and academic sources identifying NGOs as being established by or otherwise official PFLP affiliates; PFLP leaders embracing the designated NGOs; and instances of PFLP leaders taking part in NGO events and initiatives, and vice versa.

Over the years, many officials, in particular those from the European governments that were funding these NGOs, have refused – at least publicly – to acknowledge the extensive evidence presented in this report. For political reasons, their denials may continue. But the documentation presented in this report renders these denials untenable.

Introduction

On October 22, 2021, Israel designated six Palestinian NGOs as terrorist entities, citing ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) - recognized as a terrorist organization by the US, EU, and others: Addameer, Al-Haq, Bisan, Defense for Children International - Palestine (DCIP), Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), and Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC). This was preceded by the January 2020 designation of another PFLP-linked NGO, Health Work Committees (HWC).¹ The PFLP itself is designated as a terrorist organization by a number of countries and bodies, including the US, EU, Israel and Canada.

As these groups are largely funded by the EU and European governments, the Israeli decision led to strong reactions from European officials. Some have indicated a desire to tighten vetting procedures to ensure that taxpayer funds are not diverted by terror-linked actors, while others rejected the designations and repeatedly challenged the evidence that Israel shared privately with various Western governments.

Irrespective of the information possessed by the Israeli government and intelligence agencies and the criteria for designation, there is overwhelming, publicly verifiable evidence that ties these NGOs and their leadership to the PFLP. This evidence includes statements from the PFLP acknowledging NGO officials as members, the alleged involvement of NGO officials in terrorist attacks, arrests and convictions of NGO leaders on terror-related charges, and participation in and/or support for PFLP activities.

¹ While this report focuses on the 7 NGOs designated by Israel as terrorist entities, NGO Monitor has identified a network of 13 PFLP-linked NGOs operating in the West Bank and Gaza. In addition to the 7 designated NGOs, NGO Monitor has also identified substantial ties between the PFLP and Abdel Shafi Community Health Association (ACHA), Al-Dameer, Al Mezan, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR), Samidoun, and Union of Health Work Committees (UHCW). In addition, Samidoun was also designated by Israel as a terror organization in February 2021. Since this NGO is not government-funded, we did not include it in this report.

There are also indications of organizational ties between these NGOs and the PFLP. This includes Palestinian and academic sources identifying some of these groups as official PFLP affiliates, as well as instances of PFLP leaders taking part in NGO events and initiatives, and vice versa.

As European sources and officials have noted, simply affiliating with a terrorist organization can disqualify an organization or individual from receiving EU support.

For instance, as confirmed in a [June 2020 letter from the Office of the President of the European Commission to NGO Monitor](#), “[EU] rules make the participation of entities, individuals or groups affiliated linked or supporting terrorist organisations incompatible with any EU funding.”

Similarly, in a [June 2020 letter from Josep Borrell](#), Vice President of the European Commission, to a number of MEPs, he reaffirms that “specific clauses have been introduced in individual grant agreements, obliging every beneficiary managing EU funds to refrain from engaging in incitement to violence or hatred. These rules make the participation of entities, individuals or groups affiliated, linked to or supporting terrorist organisations incompatible with any EU funding.”

Moreover, in May 2022, the European Parliament approved the 2020 discharge report, “[EU General Budget – Commission and Executive Agencies](#),” one of the EU’s most important budgetary documents. The document clearly calls on the Commission to “thoroughly verify the use of Union funds by third entities, their affiliates, and/or natural persons to ensure that no funds are allocated or linked to any cause or form of terrorism and/or religious and political radicalisation; make sure that individuals or groups affiliated, linked to or supporting terrorist organizations are excluded from Union funding; ensure that those Union funds are proactively recovered, and that the recipients involved are excluded from future Union funding”.

In addition, prior to the October 2021 Israeli designations, a number of financial institutions ([Citibank](#), [Arab Bank](#), [American Express](#), [Visa](#), [Mastercard](#)) as well as the [Dutch government froze or cut ties](#) with several of these NGOs due to the reported PFLP links and potential risks raised by them.

The information provided in this report is based entirely on open sources and is thus limited to publicly available information. Steps taken by NGOs in the wake of the revelations discussed here – including hiding the names of their board members, officials, and employees, as well as decreasing transparency regarding NGO activities – means that the substantial and clear evidence discussed in this report likely represents a fraction of the relevant information.

Organizational Ties Between the PFLP and Designated NGOs

A number of sources clearly indicate organizational ties between the designated NGOs and the PFLP.² More broadly, the PFLP identified the NGO network as part of the “Front” and pledged its support, following IDF closure of the offices of designated NGOs. In an August 30, 2022 speech, [PFLP Deputy Secretary-General, Jamil Mezher](#) said, “We send a message to the Zionist enemy: The campaign of targeting, harassment and arrests against the leaders and members of the Front and the frantic war against the Front and its administrative, union, women and student organizations has not and will not succeed in repressing the Front or preventing it from continuing its resistance until liberation and return.”

UAWC’s Organizational Ties to the PFLP

Sources Identifying UAWC’s PFLP Affiliation

- A May 1993 [USAID-engaged audit](#) identified UAWC as the “PFLP’s agricultural organization,” while the [Palestinian Fatah party](#) described the NGO as a “PFLP affiliate.”
- On January 5, 2022, the Netherlands [announced](#) the cancellation of a contract with UAWC citing ties to the PFLP. The report by an independent investigation commissioned by the government confirmed that 34 UAWC employees in 2007-2020 had ties to the PFLP, some holding leadership positions in the terrorist group concurrent to their employment at UAWC.
- The investigation also noted that, [based](#) on “18 events that took place in the period between 2007 and 2020,” “there are indications of organizational ties between the UAWC and the PFLP as well.”

² Until 2015 at least, the [PFLP linked to the websites](#) of Addameer, DCI-P, HWC, and UPWC on its homepage.

PFLP Participation in UAWC Events

- In 2014, UAWC opened a center to market agricultural products. The inaugural event was attended by UAWC’s General Director and [Abdul Rahim Malloh](#), then Deputy Secretary-General of the PFLP.
- In 2012, [UAWC organized an event marking “the Nakba”](#), during which, then UAWC chair of the board Jamil Al-Zaanin “extended a greeting of love, loyalty, dignity, and pride to our captives in the usurping occupation prisons who are fighting...for their rights and freedom. All greetings to them, first and foremost, Secretary General of the Popular Front Ahmed Saadat...”
- In 2011, according to an article in Alwatan Voice, [UAWC “honored dozens of prisoners” at an event attended by leading PFLP officials](#), including members of the Central Committee of the PFLP.
- In 2010 in Ramallah, [Deputy Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine Abdel Rahim Malloh](#) participated in UAWC’s “[Land Day](#)” commemorations.

(The Dutch audit has not been released to the public, so it is unknown whether these instances are related to the “18 events” mentioned above.)



Khaled Hidmi [UAWC](#) General Director (until 2014) and PFLP Deputy Secretary-General Abdel Rahim Malloh together at a UAWC event. Source: UAWC, wattan

UAWC Officials Cited in this Report

In addition to the organizational ties between UAWC and the PFLP, this report identifies 17 current and former UAWC board members, officials, and employees who are linked to the PFLP.

Union of Palestinian Women's Committees's Organizational Ties to the PFLP

PFLP Statements in Support of UPWC

On [August 18, 2022](#), PFLP Political Bureau Member [Iktimal Hamad](#) “condemned... the occupation’s announcement of the designation of Palestinian organizations, including the Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees, as ‘terrorist organizations.’” This statement was published on the PFLP website. According to UPWC, as of September 27, 2021, Iktimal Hamad serves as the [head](#) of UPWC.

A [March 2019](#) statement from the PFLP’s Syrian branch identifies UPWC as the “feminist framework of the Popular Front.”

UPWC Senior Official Acknowledges PFLP Affiliation

In August 2019, UPWC [featured](#) on its website a speech by UPWC Vice-President Suhair Khader, who also serves as “[a member of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine](#).” In it, Khader defines UPWC as “the feminist framework of the PFLP.”

Other Sources Identifying UPWC's PFLP Affiliation

A May 1993 [USAID-engaged audit](#) identified UPWC as the “PFLP’s women’s organization,” while the [Palestinian Fatah party](#) identified the NGO as a “PFLP affiliate.” Similarly, a 2003 [research report](#) published by UNESCO lists UPWC’s PFLP affiliation.

UPWC Honors PFLP Terrorists

In 2018, UPWC [held](#) a seminar commemorating PFLP founder George Habash, “[on the importance of reconciliation and ending the division as a means of liberation and confronting the enemy](#).” The same year, UPWC posted a message marking “[the fortieth anniversary of the martyrdom](#)” of Dalal Mughrabi, a terrorist who in 1978 murdered 37 civilians, including 12 children.

- According to UPWC, the organization supervises the “Ghassan Kanafani” educational project for young children. Kanafani was a “leading member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.”
- The Ghassan Kanafani Project’s 2017 preschool graduation ceremony program included “solidarity with our brave prisoners” and children dressed in military uniforms and holding PFLP signs.

UPWC officials cited in this report

In addition to the organizational ties between UPWC and the PFLP, this report identifies 6 current and former UPWC board members, officials, and employees who are linked to the PFLP.



Post commemorating the terrorist Dalal Mughrabi. (Source: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, Facebook, March 11, 2018)



UPWC honors "families of martyrs." The picture features a "martyr" wearing a PFLP bandana. (Source: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, Facebook, March 26, 2019)



UPWC organized an event commemorating PFLP founder George Habash. (Source: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, Facebook, February 4, 2018)



Pictures of the festivities marking the end of the 2017 Ghassan Kanafani project. The pictures were published on UPWC's Facebook account and feature children wearing uniforms or T-shirts of Kanafani. One child is seen lying on the floor with a gun. Others are dancing around with knives. One picture also presents children holding a poster of what appears to be PFLP prisoners. (Source: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, Facebook, May 29, 2017)

Addameer's Organizational Ties to the PFLP

The Palestinian Fatah party identifies Addameer as a PFLP [affiliate](#).

On January 31, 2012, [Addameer's application to obtain ECOSOC consultative status](#) was deferred after the US representative to the Committee on NGOs asked it "to clarify its affiliation with the Popular Front for the Organization of Palestine (sic)." In June 2013, [Addameer's request for ECOSOC status was closed](#) after its failure to respond.

Addameer officials cited in this report

In addition to the organizational ties between Addameer and the PFLP, this report identifies 15 current and former Addameer board members, officials, and employees who are linked to the PFLP. Additionally, it includes 4 different Addameer officials who have publicly glorified terrorists or praised acts of violence.

Health Work Committees' Organizational Ties to the PFLP

PFLP Statements Supporting HWC

In June 2021, the PFLP condemned Israeli “raids” of HWC’s offices, declaring that “the Zionist enemy, with its various security and intelligence services, continues its extensive war on the Popular Front, as it intensified in recent days its frantic arrest campaigns against the leaders and activists of the Front.”

Other Sources Identifying HWC’s PFLP Connection

HWC is the West Bank and Jerusalem “sister organization” of the Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), a Gaza-based NGO identified by Fatah as a PFLP “affiliate” and by USAID-engaged audit as “the PFLP’s health organization.” According to HWC, “among the outcomes of the post-Oslo situation, as a result of the geopolitical situation, the Health Work Committees formed separate administrations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.” According to an article published by PFLP’s *Al-Hadaf* news outlet written by Mona El-Farra, “a founding member of UHWC,” “the Popular Committees for Health Services” (the original name of UHWC) was “politically sponsored by the PFLP.”

Conviction of Juana Rishmawi

Juana Rishmawi, who served as a fundraiser for HWC, was arrested by Israel in April 2021.

In November 2021 she agreed to a plea bargain agreement. The agreement acknowledged that the HWC is “controlled by the PFLP” and was involved in “raising funds for the PFLP’s activities, financing PFLP activities and carrying out PFLP’s activities.” The charge sheet to which she pled guilty states, “Over the years and in the period beginning at least in 2006 to September 2019, the organization worked systematically to fraudulently receive donations from said countries UK, EU, Denmark, Switzerland, and Belgium] in order to increase the organization’s revenues and thus fund the activity of the PFLP and strengthen the PFLP status in the region and its infrastructure.”

It also notes that at least four individuals who served in financial positions at HWC (Walid Hanatsheh,³ Sai’d Abidat, Amro Hamuda, Tayseer Abu Sharbak) are PFLP members.

³ Walid Hanatsheh is standing trial for his alleged involvement in the murder of Rina Shnerb (August 2019). For more information, see chapter “NGO Officials Claimed by the PFLP Itself - Involvement in the Shnerb Murder”.

Conviction of Daoud Ghoul

In 2016, the Jerusalem District Court sentenced HWC Director of Youth Programs Daoud Ghoul to an 18-month prison sentence over his PFLP activity. According to the conviction, “at a date prior to 2006, the appellant [Daoud Ghoul] joined the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine organization, worked in management positions at the Nidal Centre, a place of activity for the organization [PFLP], and in the Union of Health Work Committees-Jerusalem [Health Work Committees]...the framework under which the organization [PFLP] began to operate after the Nidal Centre was closed in 2009” (on file with NGO Monitor).

HWC’s Jerusalem Branch Designated as an Unauthorized Association in 2015

- On June 9, 2015, Israel’s Defense Minister declared that “the group of people or institutions or association known as the ‘Union of Health Work Committees-Jerusalem’...or ‘Health Work Committees’...or any other name that this association will be known by, including all of its factions and any branch, center, committee or group of this association is an unauthorized association, as defined by the Defense Regulations” (p.6489). In 2016, the Israeli High Court of Justice (HCJ-3923/15) stated that “based on credible information, the PFLP carried out activity in the apartment, under the aegis of an organization named the ‘Union of Health Work Committees-Jerusalem,’ which later was also declared a terrorist organization.”
- HWC’s Youth Development Program, “A community, cultural, and social development program that provide services to Jerusalemite youth through ‘Nidal Center;” was shut down by Israeli authorities from 2009 to 2012 because, in the words of the Jerusalem District Court, it served as “a place of action of the [PFLP] organization.”

HWC Officials Cited in this Report

In addition to the organizational ties between HWC and the PFLP, this report identifies current and former HWC board members, officials, and employees who are linked to the PFLP.

Bisan Research & Development Center's Organizational Ties to the PFLP

A 2014 dissertation by Sbeih Sbeih (Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines) on Palestinian NGOs claims that "some [NGOs], because of their link to the PFLP, opposed the Oslo Accords. Such was the case of Bisan."

Bisan Officials Cited in This Report

In addition to the organizational ties between Bisan and the PFLP, this report identifies current and former Bisan board members, officials, and employees who are linked to the PFLP.

Governments and Financial Institutions Take Action

After seeing the evidence of organizational ties between the Palestinian NGOs and the PFLP, a number of financial institutions and the Dutch government took action to reduce their exposure to these institutions.

Financial Institutions

In 2018, financial institutions took the following actions against the NGOs:

- Citibank, Arab Bank, and the Global Giving donations platform closed DCI-P's accounts
- MasterCard, Visa, and American Express ended the transfer of funds to Al-Haq and UAWC on their platforms

The Dutch Cancel Their Contract with UAWC

As mentioned above, on January 5, 2022, the Netherlands announced the cancellation of a contract with UAWC over the NGO's ties to the PFLP. An independent investigation commissioned by the government uncovered that 34 UAWC employees in 2007-2020 had ties to the PFLP, some holding leadership positions in the terrorist group concurrent to their

employment at UAWC. In addition, on January 31, 2022, the Dutch representative to the UN in Geneva highlighted in an [official letter](#) that: **“The strong findings about individual-level ties between the UAWC and the PFLP, and the UAWC’s lack of candour about the situation before or during the review, constitute serious concern and sufficient reason in the Government’s view to terminate its funding to the UAWC’s activities”** (emphasis added).

NGO Officials Claimed by the PFLP Itself - Involvement in the Shnerb Murder

On multiple occasions, the PFLP issued statements identifying NGO officials as PFLP members and leaders. In particular, the PFLP and its organs have repeatedly identified as PFLP members NGO officials who were arrested and indicted over their alleged involvement in a deadly August 2019 bombing.

On August 23, 2019, a PFLP cell detonated an explosive device near Dolev, murdering 17-year-old Israeli Rina Shnerb, and wounding her father and brother. On December 18, 2019, Israel announced the arrests of 50 PFLP members – including NGO officials Samer Arbid, Walid Hanatsheh and Abdel Razeq Farraj – charged with involvement in the killing. They are currently standing trial.

As discussed below, on August 22, 2022, a PFLP-affiliated student group marked the third anniversary of the murder, [writing](#), “The leader comrades who commanded the military operation in the [Popular] Front are Abdel Razeq Farraj, Walid Hanatsheh, Samer Arbid, [and] Itiraf Rimawi.... Pride, much pride, to the heroes of the Ein Bubin operation, and to those who will follow in their footsteps.”

Samir Arbid

Affiliated NGOs: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), Addameer

NGO roles: Financial director (UAWC)- At the time of his 2019 arrest
Accountant (Addameer)- Until 2015



Source: PFLP's Hadaf News



Source: PFLP Lebanon branch website

The PFLP's prisoner and ex-detainees committee in Lebanon held a protest in solidarity with Palestinian prisoners and displayed an official poster with Samir Arbid, referring to him as one of the members of the group that carried out the "Bubin operation" [in which 17-year-old Rina Shnerb was murdered]

NGO Role(s)

UAWC's "financial director" at the time of his 2019 arrest.

Previous to his position at UAWC, Arbid worked as an accountant for Addameer. In correspondence with NGO Monitor, Swiss officials claimed that Arbid's employment at Addameer ended in 2015 (on file with NGO Monitor).

Terror Activity

Arbid is currently standing trial for allegedly commanding the PFLP terror cell that carried out the bombing attack. According to his indictment, Arbid also prepared and detonated the explosive device.

PFLP on Samer Arbid

The PFLP and its associated institutions have issued several statements in support of Arbid, while identifying him as a PFLP operative:

- On August 30 2020, the PFLP issued a statement referring to Arbid as a “prisoner and commander,” and “one of the heroes of the Bubin operation” – referring to the August 2019 bombing.
- On August 23, 2022, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the attack, the PFLP’s student wing, the Democratic Progressive Student Pole (DPSP), commemorated the attack and praised Arbid, referring to him as a “leader comrade” who “commanded the military operation in the Front.”
- On January 27, 2020, the PFLP reported that “senior officials of the PFLP” participated in an event organized by the “The Prisoners Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine” in Gaza. According to the PFLP’s account, “During the event, the participants raised pictures of the prisoner Hanatsheh, the prisoner Mays Abu Ghosh, the prisoner **Samer Al-Arbeed, and all the prisoners who were arrested from the Popular Front recently**” (emphasis added).
- On December 7, 2019, a PFLP-linked media outlet reported: “In his statement made during a central celebration organized by the PFLP in Gaza on the occasion of the anniversary of its establishment, [PFLP Deputy Secretary-General] Mezher expressed his congratulations, pride and esteem for the martyrs, the wounded and our heroic prisoners, first and foremost, the leaders Samer Arbid, Khalida Jarrar, Ahmad Zahran, Walid Daqqa and [the rest of] our comrades in the Front’s organization in the prisons, and to the martyrs of the Palestinian revolution, firstly, the doctor [George Habash’s alias], Abu Ali [Mustafa], Maher Al-Yamani, Ghassan Kanafani, Wadie Haddad, Guevara of Gaza [Mohammed Al-Aswad’s alias].”

Previous Terror-related Convictions and Detention

According to UAWC, Arbid was placed in administrative detention in December 2015. In a 2013 video, Arbid describes numerous arrests and states that he was arrested at the beginning of 2003 and sentenced to 2.5 years in prison.

PFLP Activity

In May 2019, Samer Arbid attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Walid Hanatsheh

Affiliated NGOs: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Finance and administration director - at the time of his 2019 arrest.



Source: PFLP Website

The PFLP’s student wing, the Democratic Progressive Student Pole (DPSP), commemorated the attack and praised Hanatsheh

NGO Role(s)

HWC's finance and administration manager at the time of his 2019 arrest.

In addition to his position at HWC, Hanatsheh was also listed as a member of the board of directors at the Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network (PNGO)⁴ - an umbrella organization of Palestinian NGOs that is itself linked to Palestinian terrorist organizations.

Terror Activity

He was arrested in October 2019 and is allegedly the leader of PFLP terror operations. In this capacity, he is accused of commanding Samer Arbid. According to an Israeli media report, Hanatsheh financed the August 23 bombing.

PFLP on Walid Hanatsheh

The PFLP and its associated institutions have issued several statements in support of Hanatsheh, while identifying him as a PFLP operative:

- On October 13, 2019, the PFLP issued a statement labeling Walid Hanatsheh as a "leader in the Popular Front."
- On August 23, 2022, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the attack, the PFLP's student wing, the Democratic Progressive Student Pole (DPSP), commemorated the attack and praised Hanatsheh, referring to him as a "leader comrade" who "commanded the military operation in the Front."
- On January 27, 2020 the PFLP reported that "senior officials of the PFLP" participated in an event organized by the "The Prisoners Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" in Gaza. According to the PFLP's account, "During the event, the participants raised pictures of the **prisoner Hanatsheh**, the prisoner Mays Abu Ghosh, the prisoner Samer Arbid, **and all the prisoners who were arrested from the Popular Front recently**" (emphasis added).

⁴ PNGO leads the Advocacy Working Group (AWG) of the UN Humanitarian Country Team which acts as the "senior humanitarian coordination policy and decision making forum" on issues related to advocacy, access, humanitarian programming and response."

Previous Terror-related Detention

According to [Addameer](#), Hanatsheh was [placed in administrative detention](#) in May 2002-December 2005, January 2009-January 2010, and November 2011-August 2012.

In 2012, then Israeli Home Front Defense Minister Matan Vilnai mentioned the HWC “finance manager,” who was “a senior activist in the PFLP terrorist organization... [and who] [was involved prior to his arrest in activities that endanger the security of the region and the public.](#)”

In 2005, during Israeli High Court deliberations, Hanatsheh was described as “a [senior activist in the PFLP.](#)” The Court cited security sources indicating that “the status of the respondent [Hanatsheh] in the hierarchy and the **risk that he will be integrated into a senior position in military activity in the PFLP is significant.**” [HC] 6845/05] (emphasis added).

PFLP Activity

In May 2019, Hanatsheh attended a memorial [event](#) organized by the PFLP for [PFLP political bureau member](#) Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Abdel Razeq Farraj

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Finance and administration director - at the time of his 2019 arrest



Source: Facebook page: "Freedom for the Prisoner
Freedom for (sic) Abdel Razeq Farraj

NGO Role(s)

UAWC's "Finance and Administration Director" at the time of his 2019 arrest.

Terror Activity

According to his indictment, Razeq Farraj held a senior PFLP post and authorized the August 2019 bombing.

He is currently standing trial.

PFLP on Abdel Razeq Farraj

On August 23, 2022, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the attack, the PFLP's student wing, the Democratic Progressive Student Pole (DPSP), commemorated the attack and praised Farraj, referring to him as a "leader comrade" who "commanded the military operation in the Front."

In October 2022, the PFLP [named](#) Farraj as a PFLP member who had launched a hunger strike while in Israeli prison.

Previous Terror-related Conviction

According to a [2018 report published by Amnesty International](#), Farraj “served a six-year sentence in an Israeli prison after being convicted of affiliation with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.”

PFLP Activity

In May 2019, Abdel Razeq Farraj attended a memorial [event](#) organized by the PFLP for [PFLP political bureau member](#) Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “[contributed to the establishment](#)” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

NGO Officials Convicted of PFLP Recruitment, Planning or Executing Terrorist Attacks

Several current and former NGO board members, officials, and employees have been convicted of recruitment to the PFLP, executing or planning terrorist attacks. Some officials have been claimed as PFLP members by the terror organization itself. It is worth noting that due to NGOs’ lack of transparency, we are not always able to report staff members’ current employment status.

Iteraf Hajaj (Rimawi)

Affiliated NGO: Bisan

NGO role: Executive Director - through at least September 2018

NGO Role(s)

Served as Executive Director at Bisan Center for Research and Development through at least September 2018. While it is unclear when he ended his position at Bisan, Rimawi writes on his Facebook account that he started to serve as “Branch director” at the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music from May 28, 2019.

According to the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music, at the time of his arrest, Rimawi served as the director of the organization’s Ramallah office.

Terror Activity

In a statement following his September 2019 arrest, Israeli security officials identified Rimawai as being responsible for PFLP “clandestine operations.” In 2020, he pled guilty to being a member of – and holding a position in – the PFLP. He received a 3.5 year prison sentence.

PFLP on Iteraf Hajaj (Rimawi)

On August 23, 2022, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the attack, the PFLP’s student wing, the Democratic Progressive Student Pole (DPSP), commemorated the attack and praised Rimawi, referring to him as a “leader comrade” who “commanded the military operation in the Front.”

Previous Terror-related Detention

According to the PFLP-linked Samidoun, Rimawi was placed in administrative detention several times between 1995-2017. A 2016 Israeli High Court of Justice decision (HCJ-2524/16) referred to Rimawi as a “PFLP member” who “posed a security threat.”

Ubai Aboudi

Affiliated NGOs: Bisan, Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO roles: Executive Director (Bisan) - since April 2019
Monitoring and evaluation officer (UAWC) 2015 - (?)

NGO Role(s)

Aboudi has served as Bisan's Executive Director since April 2019. Aboudi previously served as UAWC's "M&E [Monitoring and Evaluation] Officer."

Terror Activity

He was arrested by Israeli authorities on November 13, 2019.

In June 2020, Aboudi was sentenced to 12-months in prison. According to his conviction, Aboudi "was convicted of being a member and an activist of the Popular Front organization during the period starting from 2016 and ending in July 2019." Specifically, Aboudi "was responsible for recruiting additional activists to the organization from young people and students, as well as strengthening the organization's infrastructure in the area."

According to Amnesty International, "Ubai Aboudi had been arrested in 2005 and 2010. He has spent over four years in Israeli prisons on charges including membership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)." In this context, in 2005, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a report identifying Aboudi as a member of a cell that "planned to perpetrate a terrorist attack at the IDF Armored Corps Museum at Latrun, using two suicide terrorists and a car bomb."

Salah Hamouri

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Lawyer - since at least 2016.



Source: dailymotion



Source: Hadaf News, September 30, 2018

Left to Right: Ahmad Sa'adat, General Secretary of the PFLP; Samir Kuntar, “top Hezbollah operative” and responsible for the 1979 terrorist murder of an Israeli family including a four year old girl; Marwan Barghouti, head of Fatah’s Al Aqsa Martyr’s Brigades terror group, convicted to five life sentences for murder; and Salah Hamouri.

NGO Role(s)

According to a March, 7, 2022 statement, Salah Hamouri serves as a lawyer at Addameer, a role he has held since at least 2016.

Terror Activity

In 2005, Salah Hamouri was arrested and convicted of plotting to assassinate former Israeli Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. In December 2011, Hamouri was released as part of the prisoner swap to free IDF soldier Gilad Shalit.

Since 2000, Salah Hamouri has been arrested at least four times ([2001](#), [2004](#), [2017-2018](#) and [2022](#)) and placed in administrative detention for “[endangering security in the region.](#)”

PFLP on Salah Hamouri

In September 2022, the PFLP [identified](#) Hamouri as a PFLP member who had launched a hunger strike while in Israeli prison. In an October 2011 statement, the PFLP referred to Hamouri as a “[comrade.](#)”

PFLP Activity

On December 18, 2018, in an [interview](#) in the French daily newspaper Le Telegramme, Hamouri was asked: “Are you a PFLP member?” Hamouri replied, “It is not a question to which I can answer. The PFLP is considered as a terrorist organization...I cannot say if I am a member or not.”

In February 2022, Salah Hamouri [attended](#) a ceremony honoring Badran Jaber, a PFLP “[leader and co-founder.](#)”

- According to several [Palestinian news sources](#), following Jaber’s death, the PFLP stated that “it has lost an extraordinary military fighter and commander and a revolutionary who represented a spiritual father for all of its comrades in the nation and the diaspora..” The articles mention that Jaber “played a part in establishing the PFLP...in 1967 he left Palestine to Jordan... three years later he was tried in front of the occupation’s military courts and charged with conducting military training and being a member of the organization [PFLP]. He was arrested [once more] for being a member in the PFLP and for charges regarding organizing, training and arming others as part of a special active operational cell...in 1972, the occupation forces arrested him [again]...”

Upon his release in 2011, according to the PFLP, Hamouri [stated](#) that “there is no option for the Palestinian people except resistance because it is the only way for us to achieve our people’s rights, our freedom, and our self- determination.”

Naser Abu Khdeir

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Board member - Listed by Addameer as a board member in 2011. As of January 2020, Khdeir was still listed as a board member.



Source: a report by Elia Association for Youth news outlet

NGO Role(s)

Addameer’s [2011 Annual Report](#) lists Naser Abu Khdeir as a board member. As of January 2020, [Khdeir was still listed as a board member](#). However, due to Addameer’s lack of transparency, it is not possible to determine if he still holds this position.

Terror Activity

The [October 2016 Elia Association for Youth news report following Abu Khdeir’s release](#) states that he spent five and a half years in prison for “establishing military cells in the West Banks [sic] operating under the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, the military wing of the PFLP.”

As reported on the Arab48 website, Israel arrested Abu Khdeir in 2011 for [heading a terrorist cell](#) that planned to commit terrorist attacks and kidnap a soldier. Arab48 adds that he was the liaison to PFLP leadership in Damascus and met with PFLP officials in Jordan in order to receive training and funds.

According to Arabic language media, Abu Khdeir was badly injured in the early 80s while assembling an [explosive device](#), which he planned to detonate near a [“bus stop for soldiers in Jerusalem.”](#)

PFLP on Naser Abu Khdeir

Naser Abu Khdeir [appeared on the PFLP list for the scheduled May 2021 Palestinian Legislative Elections](#), which were postponed indefinitely.

In an August 2018 article published by the PFLP, Abu Khdeir is referred to as [“an official at the PFLP.”](#)

According to a report by Elia Association for Youth news outlet, in [October 2016](#), the PFLP held celebrations for Abu Khdeir’s release from Israeli prison, and referred to him as “the hero commander.”

According to an October 14, 2016 article in the [PFLP-linked Al-Hadaf](#), Abu Khdeir is “one of the PFLP’s activists” and was released in October 2016 after serving 5.5 years in prison for “his involvement in resistance activities and his role in one of the PFLP’s cells...”

On October 14, 2016, the [Handala Center published an article](#), in which PFLP Secretary-General Ahmad Sa’adat and the PFLP’s prisons branch congratulated “the leader Naser Abu Khdeir” on the occasion of his release from prison. The article notes that Abu Khdeir participated in a hunger strike in solidarity with [PFLP member Bilal Kayed](#).

Previous Terror-related Detention

[According to a January 2018 article published by PFLP-linked Samidoun](#), “Abu Khdeir is a prominent leader in Jerusalem and has spent 15 years in Israeli prison. Most recently, he served five and a half years in Israeli prison for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.”

Samidoun [notes](#) that Abu Khdeir was “imprisoned from: 17 October 1977 – 18 April 1978; 1 April 1981 – 10 March 1986; 16 October 1994 – 24 May 1995; 21 February 2001 – 17 June 2002; 14 December 2003 – 9 June 2004; 7 June 2005 – 16 March 2006; 15 April 2011 – 13 October 2016.”

Shawan Jabarin

Affiliated NGOs: Al-Haq, Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO roles: General Director (Al-Haq) - Since October 2006
Board member (DCI-P) - At least 2005-2009



Source: Wattan News, 2019

NGO Role(s)

Shawan Jabarin has served as Al Haq's [General Director](#) since October 2006 and was elected FIDH's [Vice President](#) and Secretary General in [2013](#) and [2016](#), respectively. He also served on DCI-P's board in at least [2005-2009](#).

Terror Activity

Jabarin was [convicted](#) in 1985 for recruiting and arranging training for members for the PFLP. [A 1994 Israeli statement to the UN](#) notes that he "had not discontinued his terrorist involvement and maintains his position in the leadership of the PFLP."

In a series of 2007-2009 proceedings, the Israeli Supreme Court repeatedly ruled that Jabarin was a PFLP operative:

- Due to his PFLP ties, Jabarin has previously been [denied exit visas by Israel and Jordan](#).

- In 2007, the Israeli Supreme Court rejected Jabarin’s appeal to travel abroad, stating that “the current petitioner is apparently acting as **a manner of Doctor Jekyll and Mister Hyde, acting some of the time as the CEO of a human rights organization, and at other times as an activist in a terror organization** which has not shied away from murder and attempted murder, which have nothing to do with rights...” (emphasis added).
- In 2008, the Israeli Supreme Court noted that Jabarin is “among the senior activists of the Popular Front terrorist organization.”
- In 2009, Jabarin was again prohibited by the Israeli authorities from travelling abroad. Jabarin appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court which rejected his appeal, stating, “We found that the material pointing to the petitioner’s involvement in the activity of terrorist entities is concrete and reliable material.”

PFLP Activity

According to multiple Arabic-language media sources, Jabarin represented the PFLP at a December 2011 meeting of the Follow-Up Committee for Issues of Public Liberties and Trust Building. This body served as a reconciliatory body between Hamas, Fatah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the PFLP, and other Palestinian factions.

In February 2019, Jabarin participated in an event hosted by the PFLP in memory of “comrade fighter” Maher Al-Yamani. Al- Yamani was a PFLP “member of the Central Committee and one of its most prominent military commanders,” and “coordinated special operations...in particular the operation against an aircraft of the Israeli company El Al in July 1968 in Greece.”

In May 2019, Jabarin attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Yacoub Odeh

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Board member - Addameer listed Odeh as a board member in October 2019.

NGO Role(s)

In October 2019, Addameer's website listed Yacoub Odeh as a board member. Due to Addameer's lack of transparency, it is not possible to know if he still holds this position.

Terror Activity

On August 27, 2013, PA TV interviewed Aisha Odeh over her role in planting explosives in a 1969 terrorist attack in Jerusalem, in which two Israeli civilians were murdered. In her interview, she names Yacoub Odeh as one of the members of the cell who was later arrested by Israel.

PFLP on Yacoub Odeh

According to the PFLP, Odeh spoke at a February 8, 2014 PFLP ceremony in which "Hundreds of PFLP members and activists participated, honoring veteran activists, and announced that they are launching an association of PFLP veterans and long-term cadres." According to the PFLP, "comrade Yacoub Odeh, who spent 17 years in Israeli prisons, spoke on behalf of the veteran cadres..."

PFLP Activity

According to Passia (Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs), Odeh joined the PFLP in 1967.

According to the PFLP's Al-Hadaf, in June 2019, Odeh participated and spoke at an official PFLP event, mourning and lauding PFLP senior member Jammal Farraj.

Ahmad Maslamani

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Co-founder - Maslamani was co-founder and director of HWC in the West Bank until his death in 2008



Source: a report by Elia Association for Youth news outlet

NGO Role(s)

According to the PFLP, Ahmad Maslamani was co-founder and director of HWC in the West Bank until his death in 2008.

Terror Activity

According to a 2001 article in Haaretz, Israel security forces arrested Maslamani and two other PFLP members. According to the article, Maslamani “helped organize and recruit activists to the Popular Front. [Maslamani and another PFLP member] were responsible for a long series of terrorist attacks carried out by Popular Front operatives in Jerusalem.”

In 2002, Maslamani was convicted by an Israeli court “on the basis of his confession of the offense of membership in a terrorist organization.” He served nine months in jail.

According to a January 2013 PFLP article, “Five years on: Remembering Comrade Dr. Ahmad Maslamani, struggler and healer of the Palestinian people,” [“Comrade Ahmad was arrested by the occupation forces on numerous occasions, spending a total of seven years in Israeli detention and prisons.”](#)

PFLP on Ahmad Maslamani

According to a 2014 article on the PFLP’s website, Maslamani was a PFLP [“Central Committee member”](#) until his death. He “helped to establish the organization of the party [PFLP] in the city of Jerusalem.”

Mahmoud Jiddah

Affiliated NGOs: Addameer, Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO role: Board member (Addameer) - Listed Jiddah as a board member in October 2019, (DCI-P) - Served on the board from 2012-2016.

NGO Role(s)

In October 2019, Addameer’s website listed Mahmoud Jiddah as a [board member](#). Jiddah also served as a board member at DCI-P in [2012-2016](#). A May 13, 2017 [picture](#) taken at a [meeting of the DCI-P General Assembly](#) shows Jiddah standing next to DCI-P General Assembly President Nassar Ibrahim, indicating an ongoing affiliation with DCI-P.

Mahmoud Jiddah also attended the [2017 HWC general assembly](#).

Terror Activity

Jiddah was imprisoned by Israel for [17 years](#) for carrying out grenade attacks against Israeli civilians in Jerusalem in 1968. He was [released](#) in 1985 in a prisoner swap. A [February 2017 Al Jazeera article](#) adds that Jiddah was arrested in 1968 for joining the PFLP and carrying out “armed operations in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Tel Aviv.”

PFLP Activity

Media and other [sources](#) have [identified Jiddah](#) as a PFLP member, including in an [April 2017 Al-Araby article](#), in 2016 by a [candidate for the Fort Lauderdale City Council](#), and in a [March 2006 Al-Riyadh article](#).

Mahmoud Al-Safadi

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Board member - Addameer’s 2011 Annual Report lists Mahmoud al-Safadi as a board member. As of January 2020, al-Safadi was still listed as a board member.

NGO Role(s)

Addameer’s [2011 Annual Report](#) lists Mahmoud al-Safadi as a board member. As of January 2020, [al-Safadi was still listed as a board member](#).

Terror Activity

According to a [2004 Arabic language media article](#), al-Safadi is a member of the PFLP and was sentenced to 27 years imprisonment for carrying out “guerrilla operations.” According to the Goethe institute, he served [18 years](#) in prison.

PFLP Activity

On [January 1, 2014](#), [al-Safadi posted on Facebook](#), writing, “The fact that the PFLP has reaffirmed the election of the comrade Ahmed Sa’adat...means that the Front is still walking on the path of this commander...the path of resistance and upholding the national principles. Congratulations to the Front and our people for this reaffirmation.”

On February 27, 2014, [Mu’ataz Washha](#), a [PFLP member](#), was [killed](#) after being involved in a [shooting attack](#) against Israeli soldiers. On March 2, 2014, [Al-Safadi posted on Facebook](#), “The assassination did not target Mu’ataz alone but the spirit of the resistance within us.”

Other NGO Officials Affiliated with the PFLP

In addition to those arrested in connection to perpetrating or plotting terrorist attacks, a number of NGO officials have held positions in the PFLP, ran for office on PFLP electoral lists, or worked at PFLP publications. Some individuals also participated in PFLP events. It is worth noting that due to NGOs’ lack of transparency, we are not always able to report staff members’ current employment status.

Suhair Khader

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees (UPWC)

NGO role: Vice-President - According to PFLP-linked Al-Hadaf, as of October 25, 2020 Suhair Khader served as Vice President of UPWC.



Photo of Suhair Khader on PFLP Website with PFLP flag in the background. (Source: PFLP, Khader: We call for intensifying the participation of women in the march of return as an essential partner in the struggle,” March 29, 2018)



“The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the North district organized a political meeting that included...Central Committee member Comrade Suhair Khader, highlighted the political developments and the front’s position on them...” (Source: PFLP Website, Dec. 2019)



Following the session of the PFLP’s 8th national conference, official members of the PFLP, including “Central Committee member Suhair Khader,” welcomed a delegation of the Palestinian Gathering for the Homeland and Diaspora. (Source: Quds net, May 24, 2022)

NGO Role(s)

According to PFLP-linked Al-Hadaf, as of October 25, 2020, Suhair Khader served as Vice President of UPWC.

PFLP on Suhair Khader

According to the PFLP, UPWC’s Suhair Khader is “a member of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.”

PFLP Activity

In July 2021, the PFLP held an event on the occasion of the end of the ‘Buds of Steadfastness’ children summer camp, in which PFLP member Suhair Khader congratulated and awarded participating children.

Samira Abdel-Alim

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees (UPWC)

NGO role: Board member - According to UPWC, as of April 8, 2020, Samira Abd Al-Alim served as “a member of UPWC’s board of directors.”



Photo of Samira Abdel-Alim on the PFLP Website, taken during a symposium “In Support of Our Heroes,” hosted at UPWC’s Headquarters (Source: PFLP, “Solidarity Campaign with Leader Sa’adat Organizations a Symposium in Rafah entitled in ‘Support of Our Heroes,’” February 26, 2015)

NGO Role(s)

According to UPWC, as of April 8, 2020, Samira Abdel-Alim served as “[a member of UPWC’s board of directors.](#)”

PFLP on Samira Abdel-Alim

According to a February 2015 article on the PFLP website, Abdel-Alim is a member of the [PFLP Central Committee.](#)

PFLP Activity

Samira Abdel-Alim participated in a February 2015 symposium “[In Support of Our Heroes](#)” that called for the “support of the prisoners in the prisons of the Zionist enemy.” The symposium, which took place at UPWC headquarters, was co-organized by the International Campaign for Solidarity with PFLP Secretary-General Ahmad Sa’adat.

Iktimal Hamad

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC)

NGO role: Executive-Director- According to UPWC, as of September 27, 2021, Iktimal Hamad served as the head of UPWC.



In July 2021 the PFLP held an event on the occasion of the end of the 'Buds of Steadfastness' children summer camp, in which PFLP members Iktimal Hamad and Suhair Khader congratulated and awarded participating children. (Source: Hadaf news)

NGO Role(s)

According to UPWC, as of September 27, 2021, Iktimal Hamad served as the head of UPWC.

PFLP on Iktimal Hamad

According to the PFLP, as of August 2022, Hamad was a member of the PFLP's Political Bureau.

PFLP Activity

According to the Ma'an news outlet, as of February 9, 2021, Iktimal Hamad served as a PFLP Central Committee member.

According to a September 2022 report by the Palestinian NGO Vision for Political Development, Hamad "joined the PFLP in 1985... and during the occupation forces' reoccurring invasions of the Gaza Strip, she worked in supervising and facilitating the resistance's work process, supplying resistance fighters with weapons and dispatching them from one area to another...She is prevented from traveling to the West Bank and the occupied inside [i.e. Israel] since 1997."

Khalida Jarrar

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Vice-Chair of the board of directors President (? - 2017)
Director - (1994-2006) Board member (2007-2017)



Source: alresalah, June 2017



Source: Kan 11, "The Popular Front found an original way to receive funding from the UN," November 14, 2016



Source: alresalah, June 2017



Source: Kan 11, "The Popular Front found an original way to receive funding from the UN," November 14, 2016

NGO Role(s)

Khalida Jarrar served as vice-chairperson of Addameer until 2017. She was the director of Addameer Prisoners' Support and Human Rights Association from 1994 to 2006. After that, she became a member of the Board of Directors of Addameer. She was also interviewed at Addameer's offices in a 2019 video.

In addition, Khalida Jarrar attended HWC's 2019 and 2016 general assembly.

PFLP on Khalida Jarrar

On December 7, 2019, PFLP-linked Al-Hadaf reported: “[In his statement](#) made during a central celebration organized by the PFLP in Gaza on the occasion of the anniversary of its establishment, [PFLP Deputy Secretary-General] ‘[Mezher](#) expressed his congratulations, pride and esteem for the martyrs, the wounded and our heroic prisoners, first and foremost, the leaders Samer Arbid, Khalida Jarrar...”

Previous Terror-related Convictions

Jarrar was administratively detained on April 1, 2015 by Israeli security forces and on April 15, 2015. She was indicted for [various offenses including active membership in a terrorist organization](#) (the PFLP) and inciting violence through a call to kidnap Israeli soldiers to be used as “bargaining chips for the release of Palestinian prisoners.” Jarrar [accepted a plea bargain](#) and was reportedly convicted on “one count of belonging to an illegal organization and another of incitement” receiving a 15-month prison sentence with an additional 10-month suspended sentence.

Jarrar was arrested on October 31, 2019 over suspicions of “[involvement in terror activity](#).” On December 18, 2019, it was reported that Jarrar had “emerged as [the head of the PFLP in the West Bank](#) and responsible for all the organization’s activities.” On March 1, 2021, [Jarrar was sentenced](#) to two years in prison for “holding office in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine from 2016 until her arrest in 2019.”

PFLP Activity

[Jarrar](#) represents the PFLP on the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) since she was [elected](#) in 2006. According to the PLC, as of [October 2022](#), Jarrar still holds a seat at the PLC representing the PFLP.

Khalida Jarrar [appeared on the PFLP list for the scheduled May 2021 Palestinian Legislative Elections](#) (Seat 2), which were postponed indefinitely.

An October 2018 article by the PFLP-linked Al-Hadaf lists her as a [member of the PFLP Political Bureau](#).

In May 2019, Khalida Jarrar attended a memorial [event](#) organized by the PFLP for [PFLP political bureau member](#) Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “[contributed to the establishment](#)” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Abdul-Latif Ghaith

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Co-founder, board member - In 2011, Addameer wrote that Ghaith is “one of the founders of Addameer” and has “been serving on the Board for the past twenty years.”



Photo source: Watten YouTube channel

NGO Role(s)

Ghaith is the “[former Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association Chairperson.](#)” An October 2011 Addameer article also refers to Ghaith as “one of the founders of Addameer” and notes that he has “been serving on the Board for the past twenty years.”

PFLP Activity

In October 2018, the Palestinian news agency Wafa identified him as a member of the [Palestinian Central Council \(PCC\)](#) - a PA governmental body that includes representatives from different factions - representing the PFLP. Wafa continued to identify him in this role in [February 2022.](#)

In December 2021, PCHR referred to him as an “[....activist and leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Abdel Latif Ghaith...](#)”

According to an [Al-Quds City news outlet article](#) from February 2021, Ghaith “was one of the founders of the PFLP and its wing operating in Jerusalem and Hebron, under the name ‘the heroes of return...’ He operated as part of a cell of the late [PFLP senior member and one of its founders] [Abd Al-raheem Jaber](#), which carried out a series of special operations in Jerusalem and occupied Jaffa...following the escalation of the first Palestinian Intifada’s events, Abdul Latif Ghaith started his project to support the prisoners and empower them...he established together with activists and public figures the Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association...to this day [Ghaith] is still the associations’ chair of the board.”

Israeli Interior Minister Aryeh Deri banned Ghaith from traveling abroad in both [February 2019](#) and [February 2017](#). [According to the Interior Ministry](#), Deri “was convinced that Abdul-Latif, an activist in the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine] organization and a person who has connections to the organization’s activists abroad, will utilize his travel abroad for the organizational purposes of the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine].”

A 2009 article by Ma’an [refers to Ghaith as a member of the PFLP’s “political bureau.”](#) In 2014, Ghaith [attended](#) a PFLP event celebrating the release of one of its prisoners.

Yousef Habash

Affiliated NGOs: Addameer, Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO roles: (HWC) European representative - Until at least 2015 2009, 2011, and 2014 articles list him as director of public relations (Addameer) Board member - Until at least May 2018.

NGO Role(s)

Habash served as HWC’s “[European representative](#)” until at least 2015. He also served as an [Addameer board member](#) (until at least [May 2018](#)).

PFLP Activity

In 2001, an article, written by the Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO) - an umbrella organization of Palestinian NGOs that is [itself linked to Palestinian terrorist organizations](#) - and posted on the Palestinian NGO Miftah's website, includes Habash in a list of "[PFLP members \(or ex-associates of the PFLP\)](#)" arrested by the PA following the assassination of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze'evi.

On December 11, 2020, Habash [shared](#) a poster on Facebook of PFLP Founder George Habash and a [video](#) honoring the PFLP's establishment. Habash wrote, "On every anniversary of the establishment the promise of the idea is renewed...the establishment is not only an occasion but a confirmation of a path that started 52 years ago and continues to the heroes of Ein Bubin [[referring to PFLP-planned Dolev bombing in which 17-year-old Rina Shnerb was murdered](#)]..."

Bashir Al-Khairi

Affiliated NGOs: Addameer, Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO roles: Board member (Addameer) - Lists him as a board member in October 2019, President of the board (UAWC) - Until 2011



In May 2019, Al-Khairi attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna (Source: Wattan News)

NGO Role(s)

In October 2019, Addameer’s website listed Bashir Al-Khairi as a [board member](#). He [was also the president of the board at UAWC](#) until 2011.

PFLP on Bashir Al-Khairi

Al-Khairi [appeared on the PFLP list for the scheduled May 2021 Palestinian Legislative Elections](#), which were postponed indefinitely.

Notably, in statements in 2012 and 2014, the [PFLP referred to Al-Khairi](#) as an “historic leader,” a [“comrade,”](#) and a [“leader.”](#)

Previous Terror-related Conviction and Detention

Khairi [was arrested on October 29, 2021](#) and was placed in administrative detention. On April 28, 2022, the administrative detention order was [renewed for 6 months](#).

Khairi was also arrested in [2010](#) and [2011](#). According to an [October 31, 2020 Arab48 article](#), in 2010, Al-Khairi was arrested by the IDF along with other PFLP members. The article refers to him as being a member of the PFLP’s National Council.

According to a 2013 document published by the Australian government, Bashir Al-Khairi was [“convicted of terrorist offences in 1969 and gaoled for 15 years.”](#)

PFLP Activity

According to a 2002 CNN article, Khairi was the head of the [PFLP political bureau](#).

Al-Khairi participated in a series of 2019 PFLP-related events:

- In February 2019, Al-Khairi [participated](#) in an event hosted by the PFLP in memory of “comrade fighter” Maher Al-Yamani. Al-Yamani was a PFLP [“member of the Central Committee and one of its most prominent military commanders,”](#) and [“coordinated special operations...in particular the operation against an aircraft of the Israeli company El Al in July 1968 in Greece.”](#)
- In 2019, Al-Khairi [participated](#) in a PFLP event marking the 13th anniversary of the arrest of its Secretary-General Ahmad Sa’adat.

- In May 2019, Al-Khairi attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the PFLP, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHCWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Additionally, in August 2014, according to the PFLP, Al-Khairi stressed that the “approach of resistance and liberation in the life of Comrade Abu Ali Mustafa is still firmly in the mind of every free Palestinian” at a PFLP event marking the “13th Anniversary of Martyrdom of its Secretary General Abu Ali Mustafa.” At the event, Al-Khairi stated that “the time has come to recognize those who contributed to the steadfastness of Gaza in its war against the Zionist enemy, namely Iran, Syria, and Lebanon, headed by Hezbollah.”

Khitam Saafin

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees (UPWC)

NGO role: President - UPWC President through her November 2020 arrest and February 2022 sentencing



In May 2019, attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna (Source: wattan News)

NGO Role(s)

UPWC President through her November 2020 arrest and February 2022 sentencing

PFLP on Khitam Saafin

In a July 2017 statement published by the PFLP, the terrorist organization “confirmed that the Zionist occupation forces launched a pre-dawn campaign of raids across the occupied West Bank of Palestine on Sunday, arresting a number of leaders and activists of the Front, led by the Palestinian Legislative Council member Khalida Jarrar, feminist activist Khitam Saafin...” The PFLP also “urged the Palestinian masses to escalate the popular movement to support the struggle of the brave prisoners in Israeli jails, for Jarrar and Saafin...”

The PFLP celebrated Saafin’s October 2014 release, labeling her a “comrade.”

Previous Terror-related Conviction and Detention

According to Addameer, Saafin was placed in administrative detention in July 2017 and again in November 2020. In February 2022, she was sentenced to 15 months in prison after being convicted of membership in the PFLP.

PFLP Activity

In February 2019, Saafin participated in an event hosted by the PFLP in memory of “comrade fighter” Maher Al-Yamani. Al-Yamani was a PFLP “member of the Central Committee and one of its most prominent military commanders,” and “coordinated special operations...in particular the operation against an aircraft of the Israeli company El Al in July 1968 in Greece.”

In May 2019, Saafin attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

Hashem Abu Maria

Affiliated NGO: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO role: Coordinator of the community mobilization unit - Until his 2014 death



PFLP's death notice for Hashem Abu Maria (Source: PFLP Website)



"The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in Hebron Governorate (Beit Ummar) organized a memorial ceremony for its martyr leader and teacher Hashem Abu Maria..." (Source: PFLP Website)

NGO Role(s)

According to DCI-P, Hashem Abu Maria "served as the coordinator of DCI-Palestine's community mobilization unit, promoting constructive child participation throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory" where he "focused on Palestinian teens monitoring and documenting child rights violations in Hebron."

PFLP on Hashem Abu Maria

In July 2014, Abu Maria was killed during violent clashes between Palestinians and IDF personnel in Beit Ummar.

The PFLP extensively memorialized Abu Maria:

- Following his death, he was hailed by the PFLP as a "leader," which issued an official mourning announcement.

- The [PFLP announcement](#) praised his work for DCI-P, stating “he was in the ranks of the national liberation struggle and the PFLP from an early age, arrested several times, and was a model for a steadfast struggler and advocate for the rights of our people through his work in Defence for Children International.”
- The PFLP announcement continued, “this true revolutionary comrade went to join the demonstration and joined the martyrs of Palestine, his blood shed at the hands of the occupier’s forces. The Front pledges to the leader and his fellow martyrs, to all of the martyrs who have fallen on the path of the struggle for the liberation of Palestine, that the struggle of the resistance everywhere in Palestine until all of Palestine, from the river to the sea, is liberated.”
- On September 23, 2014, DCI-P uploaded a video of a memorial service for Abu Maria, featuring a speech by then DCI-P General Director Rifat Odeh Kassis (on file with NGO Monitor). The courtyard where the memorial service took place was [decorated with PFLP flags, posters, and pictures of prominent PFLP figures](#), such as founder George Habash and former leader Ahmad Sa’adat. Nearly all of the audience is dressed in PFLP paraphernalia.
- Another video of the memorial service shows [posters of Abu Maria featuring the PFLP emblem](#) and of Abu Maria with the DCI-P logo (on file with NGO Monitor).
- The [PFLP also posted an article](#) in September 2014 noting that the PFLP in Hebron held a memorial service for “its martyr.” The article notes that PFLP leader “comrade” Badran Jabir delivered the speech on behalf of the PFLP and Rifat Kassis spoke on behalf of DCI-P.

Taghreed Aburahma (Jomaa)

Affiliated NGOs: Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees (UPWC), Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO roles: Executive-director (UPWC), Listed as executive-director in a September 2022 article Board member (UAWC) - 2010–2012



Shaker Jouda > Taghreed Jomaa
Dec 12, 2013 · Public · in Shaker Jouda's Photos

Jomaa with PFLP Political Bureau member Mariam Abu Daqa (Source: Shaker Jouda, Facebook, December 12, 2013)

NGO Role(s)

A September 2022 article by Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network (PNGO) - an umbrella organization of Palestinian NGOs that is [itself linked to Palestinian terrorist organizations](#) - lists her as UPWC’s [executive director](#).

Served as a UAWC board member in [2010–2012](#). A 2011 [Palestine Press News Agency](#) article lists Jomaa as the secretary of the board.

PFLP on Taghreed Aburahma

In a December 31 2012 statement, the PFLP referred to Aburahma as a [“Central Committee member Comrade.”](#)

Hiba Abdul Kareem

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member - According to UAWC's website, Abdul Kareem was elected to UAWC's Board of Directors in May 2016.



Source: PFLP Website, 2016



Source: PFLP Website, 2017



"The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine... organized a feminist demonstration in support of the female prisoners in the prisons of the Israeli occupation, and with the prisoner commander Samer Arbid, along with a substantial participation of leaders and members of the PFLP in the district...On her part, PFLP Central Committee member Heba Abdel Karim...said...'We stand with he who embodies the slogan 'confession is treachery,' the giant, comrade Samer Arbid...' Source: Safa, Palestinian Press Agency

NGO Role(s)

According to UAWC's website, Abdul Kareem was elected to UAWC's Board of Directors in May 2016.

PFLP on Hiba Abdul Kareem

An October 2019 Safa article refers to her as a member of the PFLP Central Committee.

In November 2017, the PFLP referred to Kareem as a “comrade, and the coordinator of a PFLP recruitment and training program.”

In November 2015, the PFLP referred to Kareem as a “member of the center district leadership in Gaza.”

PFLP Activity

In August 2018, the PFLP held its annual “PFLP martyr day” event, in which Kareem served as the event moderator and “saluted the pure spirits of the martyrs, and specifically the military commander of the PFLP forces in the Gaza Strip and member of its political bureau, the martyr Mohammed Al-Aswad, ‘Guevara of Gaza.’” Kareem also “saluted the spirit of the fighter martyr [PFLP member] Omar Al-Nayef.”

Nayef was a PFLP member, sentenced by Israel to life in prison in 1986 over stabbing to death a 22-year-old Jewish student in Jerusalem. Nayef escaped from an Israeli jail four years later and was wanted by Israel until his death in February 2016.

Similarly, in December 2016, according to the PFLP, Kareem spoke at a large PFLP gathering in “memory of the martyr Sami Madi,” identified by Palestinian media as a “leading” PFLP activist in Gaza.

At the event, PFLP Deputy Secretary-General Jamil Mezher addressed the PFLP, called for “Intifada and resistance” and celebrated PFLP hijackings and attacks such as the 2001 assassination of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze’evi and the 2014 Har Nof synagogue massacre, in which 5 Israelis were murdered in an assault on a Jerusalem synagogue.

Hassan Abed Al-Jawad

Affiliated NGOs: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCIP), Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO roles: Board member HWC - Abed Al-Jawad served as an HWC board member in 2014-2016. DCI-P - Al-Jawad served as a DCI-P board member in 2012-2018.



Source: PFLP Website, 2018



In 2017, Al-Jawad “spoke on behalf of the PFLP” at an official PFLP memorial event (Source: Radio Bethlehem 2000)

NGO Role(s)

Hassan Abed Al-Jawad served as an HWC board member in 2014-2016. Al-Jawad also served as a DCI-P board member in 2012-2018.

PFLP on Hassan Abed Al-Jawad

The PFLP referred to Al-Jawad as a “comrade” in 2018.

In 2016, according to the PFLP, Al-Jawad “spoke on behalf of the PFLP” at an event commemorating a group member who was killed “while engaging in a demonstration confronting the occupation forces with stones and Molotov cocktails.”

PFLP Activity

In 2018, Al-Jawad spoke at a PFLP event commemorating a group member, the “Palestinian fighter, comrade Jamal Farraj.” According to Al Quds, Al-Jawad spoke “on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in which he said goodbye to the late fighter Farraj.”

In 2016 and in 2008, *Wafa* identified Al-Jawad as “a leader of the Popular Front [PFLP] in Bethlehem.” Similarly, a 2005 book, *The Palestinian National Movement* (2005), refers to Abed al-Jawad as “a PFLP activist in Bethlehem.”

Yusuf Abd al-Haq

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member, economic advisor - 2012 and 2016. *Al-Watan* articles identify Abd al-Haq as a member of UAWC's board of directors. In 2018, he participated in UAWC's general assembly. In 2014, *Al-Watan* referred to Abd al-Haq as a legal and economic adviser at a UAWC



In October 2019, the PFLP held celebrations, in which Abd Al-Haq spoke. (Source: T.Almolk YouTube channel)

NGO Role(s)

2012 and 2016 *Al-Watan* articles identify Yusuf Abd al-Haq as a member of UAWC's board of directors. In 2018, he took part in the UAWC's annual general assembly.

In 2014, *Al-Watan* referred to Abd al-Haq as a legal and economic adviser at a UAWC conference.

PFLP on Yusuf Abd al-Haq

In February 2014, according to the PFLP, "Dr. Yousef Abdul Haq, a former lecturer at the university, spoke on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, discussing Habash's life as well as a current political analysis of the Palestinian cause."

Previous PFLP-related Arrests

In 2014, [according to Al Jazeera](#), “The Israeli occupation forces launched a campaign of arrests that included leaders and cadres of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) at An-Najah University in Nablus in the northern West Bank. Dr. Yousef Abdul-Haq – Professor of Economics at An-Najah University in Nablus – was one of the most prominent detainees...”

PFLP Activity

Palestinian media has referred to him as a PFLP “[leader](#)” on [multiple occasions](#). He has represented the PFLP in a variety of forums, including in dialogue and coordination with other Palestinian terror groups and factions.

On the occasion of [PFLP member](#) Muayyad Abd Al-Raheem’s [release from prison](#) in October 2019, the [PFLP held celebrations](#), in which Abd al-Haq spoke. During his [speech](#), Abd al-Haq said, “We must raise the flag of Palestine, all of Palestine. Salutations to the martyrs: The doctor (PFLP founder George Habash’s alias), Abu Ammar, (PFLP senior member) Wadie Haddad, (Hamas Founder) [Ahmed] Yasin, (PIJ founder) [Fathi] Shaqqaqi...”

In March 2019, Abd al-Haq [participated](#) in an event organized by the PFLP’s Progressive Student Labor Front and UPWC, “honoring active and excelling female students on the occasion of International Women’s Day.”

Magdy Yaghi

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member - Former member of UAWC's Board of Directors (from 2010 until at least 2013). In 2019, Yaghi participated in a UAWC event.



Yaghi participated in a memorial service organized by the PFLP for PFLP founder Maher Yamani (Source: PFLP Website)



Yaghi marching with PFLP members carrying hatchets and Molotov cocktails (Source: Magdi Yaghi, Facebook, November 6, 2015)



In 2014, Yaghi participated in a PFLP trip to several high schools in Gaza to commemorate the 47th anniversary of the terror group's founding. (Source: PFLP Website)



Yaghi with senior PFLP members Abu Nidal Toman and Jamil Mizher. (Source: Magdi Yaghi, Facebook, December 7, 2013)

NGO Role(s)

Former member of UAWC's Board of Directors (from 2010 until at least 2013). In 2019, Yaghi participated in a UAWC event.

Yaghi also served as UHWC's financial director.

PFLP on Magdy Yaghi

In 2014, the PFLP referred to Yaghi as a "member of the regional command" and a "comrade."

PFLP Activity

In February 2019, Yaghi participated in a memorial service organized by the PFLP for Maher Yamani, a PFLP "member of the Central Committee and one of its most prominent military commanders." Yamani "coordinated special operations...in particular the operation against an aircraft of the Israeli company El Al in July 1968 in Greece." "Fighters" of the PFLP's Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades and "civil society representatives" attended the event.

Ismat Shakhshir

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC), Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO roles: UPWC member - According to 2018 and 2019 publications
HWC -Member of "Director Committee" (HWC) - According to her 2002 CV, Shakhshir served as a member of HWC's "director committee" (sic).



In 2019, Shakhshir participated in a ceremony co-organized by UPWC and the Progressive Student Action Front, "the student organization of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine," in honor of the International Women's Day.

NGO Role(s)

Shakhshir has been identified as a UPWC member and official in Nablus in 2018 and 2019 publications by Spanish activists and Nablus TV, respectively.

According to her 2002 CV, Shakhshir served as a member of HWC’s “director committee” (sic).

PFLP Activity

Shakhshir ran for Palestinian elections in 2006 on a PFLP slate.

In 2019, Shakhshir participated in a ceremony co-organized by UPWC and the Progressive Student Action Front, “the student organization of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,” in honor of the International Women’s Day.

Zakaria Bakr

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Head of the Gaza fisherman committee - According to Palestinian media, UAWC’s “head of the Gaza Fisherman Committee” in at least 2018-2019.



Zakaria Bakr with senior PFLP members, including PFLP Central Committee Member Abu Nidal Toman (middle, with trophy in hand). Source: PFLP Website, 2017



Zakaria Bakr speaking, alongside senior PFLP members Abu Nidal Toman, Jamil Mizher, Mariam Abu Daqqa and others, at a PFLP event in support of Palestinian prisoners. (Source: PFLP Website)



On the occasion of the “PFLP martyr’s day” Bakr participated and awarded the families of the PFLP members alongside other PFLP senior members. Source: Bakr’s Facebook March 11, 2017

NGO Role(s)

According to Palestinian media, UAWC’s “[head of the Gaza Fisherman Committee](#)” in at least 2018-[2019](#).

PFLP on Zakaria Bakr

Bakr has participated in several PFLP events, and the terrorist organization has labeled him a “[comrade](#)” on multiple [occasions](#).

PFLP Activity

Bakr was referred to as a PFLP “[comrade](#)” in a May 2014 *Al-Watan* article.

According to the PFLP, in 2017, Bakr, alongside members of the PFLP Central Committee, participated in a sporting event organized by the PFLP in honor of the anniversary of the organization’s 2001 assassination of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze’evi. Speakers celebrated that “[the knights of Palestine and the PFLP overthrew the head of the criminal Ze’evi and sent him to the garbage of history, stressing that the only language understood by the enemy is the language of bullets.](#)” In describing the event, the PFLP labeled Bakr as a PFLP “[comrade](#).”

In February 2016, [Bakr attended a PFLP event](#) in support of Palestinian prisoners.

In May 2014, [Bakr attended a PFLP Nakba day event](#).

Saad el-Din Ziada

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Director of advocacy, head of agriculture committee - According to a May 2022 post on its website, Saad el-Din Ziada is UAWC's director of advocacy, a position he has held since January 2017. Previously, Ziada was UAWC's Head of Agriculture Committees in Gaza (as of July 2008).



Ziada being awarded by PFLP senior member Jamil Mizhar, and participating in the PFLP's martyr day celebration (Source: Zakaria Bakr - Facebook)



Left: Ziada speaking at the PFLP event; Right: Ziada (circled in red) seated next to senior PFLP members. (Source: PFLP Website)

NGO Role(s)

According to a May 2022 post on its website, Saad el-Din Ziada is UAWC's director of advocacy, a position he has held since January 2017. Previously, Ziada was UAWC's Head of Agriculture Committees in Gaza (as of July 2008).

PFLP on Saad el-Din Ziada

In March 2017, Ziada participated in “PFLP martyr day” commemorations and was honored by the terror group, receiving an award from PFLP Deputy Secretary-General Jamil Mezher.

PFLP Activity

In May 2017, Ziada spoke at an official PFLP event in Gaza, alongside senior PFLP members.

Ziada has also openly expressed his support for the PFLP on social media. For example, on September 2, 2016, Ziada wrote, “Despite the harsh circumstances and the insults by some people, we will continue to raise the flag of the PFLP, high and fluttering.”

On November 20, 2014, Ziada shared a song on social media “as a present for the martyrs of the PFLP, Uday and Ghassan Abu Jamal, the heroes of the Jerusalem operation.” Uday and Ghassan Abu Jamal were PFLP terrorists who murdered five Israelis in a November 2014 assault on a Jerusalem synagogue.

Nassar Ibrahim

Affiliated NGO: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO role: President of the General Assembly, board member - President of DCI-P’s General Assembly – one of the group’s governing bodies – until at least 2017, and was elected in 2007 and 2008 to serve on DCI-P’s board.

NGO Role(s)

President of DCI-P’s General Assembly – one of the group’s governing bodies – until at least 2017, and was elected in 2007 and 2008 to serve on DCI-P’s board.

PFLP Activity

Ibrahim is the [former editor of Al Hadaf](#) – the PFLP’s weekly publication.

On May 1, 2014, the [PFLP unveiled a mural](#) “developed by writer and journalist Nassar Ibrahim,” honoring PFLP founder George Habash. Several PFLP members attended and spoke at the event.

In [February 2019](#) and [July 2016](#), Ibrahim published articles on the PFLP’s Lebanese website. He is also quoted by the [PFLP’s Syrian branch](#).

A May 31, 2019 post by the [Alternative Information Center – Palestine](#) notes that Ibrahim also serves as its director and stated that he “believes in the right of the Palestinians to resist in all its forms, **including armed struggle...and calls for controlling the weapons of the resistance in accordance with a political vision**” (emphasis added).

Maha Nassar

Affiliated NGO: Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees (UPWC)

NGO role: President - According to an October 2013 UPWC statement republished by the PFLP on its website, the late Nassar “contributed to the foundation of the Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees in 1980, elected as its president in 1994, and was reelected twice afterwards.”

NGO Role(s)

According to an October 2013 UPWC [statement republished by the PFLP on its website](#), Nassar, who [died](#) in 2008, “contributed to the foundation of the Union of Palestinian Women’s Committees in 1980, elected as its president in 1994, and was reelected twice afterwards.”

PFLP on Maha Nassar

In a statement published in October 2013, the PFLP referred to her as “a leading Palestinian feminist” and “member of the Central Committee of the PFLP.” In that same statement, the PFLP calls her a “comrade,” “role model,” and “icon of national and democratic struggle.”

In an October 2008 UPWC statement posted by the PFLP on its website, UPWC praises Nassar for being “one of the first people who founded the Popular Front Organization” at Birzeit University. In the statement, UPWC claims that “her actions have always preceded her words, like those of Shadia Abu Ghazaleh and Dalal Al Moghrabi and all Palestinian women martyrs” and that “Comrade Maha’s visible role in the first and second Intifada is well known to the Palestinian people.”

Ayman Nasser

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Coordinator of the legal unit - Ayman Nasser has been listed as the coordinator of Addameer’s legal unit through his 2018 arrest.

NGO Role(s)

Ayman Nasser has been listed as the coordinator of Addameer’s legal unit through his 2018 arrest.

Previous Terror-related Conviction and Detention

According to Addameer, Nasser was arrested on September 9, 2018 and received a 6-month administrative detention order.

On July 29, 2019, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled on Nasser's administrative detention. It found that he had engaged in "organizational activity in the context of the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine]," which was "significant and dangerous, along with additional Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine] members" (on file with NGO Monitor).

Previously, on December 18, 2012, he was indicted over a number of offenses relating to membership in the PFLP and activities on behalf of the organization.

On June 3, 2013, the Israeli military court convicted Nasser, who admitted to being a member of an unlawful organization, the PFLP, and for providing services to the organization. He was released in October 2013.

According to Addameer, he was also imprisoned by Israel from 1992 to 1997.

Anas Barghouthi

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO role: Lawyer - In March 2017, Addameer stated that Anas Barghouthi was a "lawyer at Addameer between 2009-2013."

NGO Role(s)

In March 2017, Addameer stated that Anas Barghouthi was a "lawyer at Addameer between 2009-2013, and is one of the first lawyers to defend political prisoners in Palestinian Authority prisons."

PFLP Activity

Barghouthi was arrested in September 2013 and was subsequently charged with “membership in the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine.”

He subsequently accepted a plea bargain in February 2017 that includes “a 7,000-shekel (\$1,892) fine, as well as a suspended sentence of 18 months in prison if Barghouthi is found to be involved with PFLP in the coming five years.”

Ismat al-Shuli

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member - A variety of UAWC and Palestinian media sources have listed Ismat al-Shuli as a member of UAWC’s Board of Directors at least as of 2009-2010 and 2016.



Dec 2018, PFLP: Ismat al-Shuli participated and spoke at the PFLP’s celebration on the event of its 51st anniversary of its establishment in a public national march and a large national event in the Nablus district. During his speech, al-Shuli said, “there is no truce or negotiations when resisting the occupation and its allies, and when adhering to our people’s rights to resist the occupation by all means of the national legitimate struggle.” (Source: PFLP Website)

NGO Role(s)

A variety of UAWC and Palestinian media sources have listed Ismat al-Shuli as a member of UAWC's Board of Directors at least as of 2009-2010 and 2016.

Terror Activity

According to Palestinian media, al-Shuli was in Israeli prison for seven years, beginning in 1975, for “belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.” He was also in jail for “five years from 1983 to 1988, and then administrative detention for two periods of 16 months, 1989 and then again in 1990, bringing the number of years in detention to 14 years.”

Al-Shuli was arrested again on March 4, 2014 and released on January 1, 2015 after 10 months in administrative detention.

PFLP Activity

A December 2017 *Al-Araby* article refers to al-Shuli as a “PFLP leader” and mentions a statement he gave during a “mass rally” through the streets of Ramallah with “thousands of Palestinians, including supporters of the PFLP.”

In September 2016, al-Shuli spoke at a PFLP event commemorating PFLP Secretary General Abu Ali Mustafa and was referred to by the *Al-Quds* media outlet as a PFLP “leader.”

Ahmad Sufan

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member - According to UAWC's website, Sufan was a member of UAWC's Board of Directors until at least 2012.

NGO Role(s)

According to UAWC's website, [Sufan was a member of UAWC's Board of Directors until at least 2012.](#)

PFLP Activity

Following Sufan's arrests in 2014 and 2020, [Arabic-language media described Sufan as a "commander" and "member" of the PFLP.](#)

Sufan was also placed in administrative detention in [November 2011](#), which was [renewed in 2012.](#)

Juana Rishmawi

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Fundraiser - According to her 2021 conviction, Juana Rishmawi worked as HWC's fundraiser for Europe since 1993

NGO Role(s)

According to her [2021 conviction](#), Juana Rishmawi worked as HWC's fundraiser for Europe since 1993.

PFLP Activity

In November 2021, an Israeli military court [sentenced Rishmawi to 13 months in prison](#) as part of a plea deal in which she admitted to unknowingly funding the PFLP via her work for HWC.

The specifics of [Rishmawi's plea bargain](#) focus on her continuing to work at HWC, despite learning of HWC senior official Walid Hanatsheh's alleged role in the August 2019 bombing. Additionally, she continued to work at the organization after Israel designated HWC as a terror organization in January 2020.

Shatha Odeh (Abu Fannouneh)

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: General Director - Shatha Odeh has held the role of HWC's General Director since at least 2008, through June 2022.



Source: Wattan News, 2019

NGO Role(s)

Shatha Odeh has held the role of HWC's General Director since at least [2008](#). As of [June 2022](#), [Odeh](#) is still holding that title.

Previously, Odeh [chaired](#) the Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network's (PNGO) [board](#) at least since [October 2018](#) until at least [November 2021](#). PNGO is an umbrella organization of Palestinian NGOs that is [linked to terrorist organizations](#).

Odeh's 2022 conviction

Following her July 7, 2021 arrest, in May 2022, [Odeh](#) [accepted a plea bargain](#), pleading guilty to crimes including holding a position in a banned organization, presence in the proceedings of a banned organization, and improperly transferring funds for her role in raising funds for the organization after it was declared a terrorist entity by the IDF in January 2020.

She was sentenced to 16-months in prison and a 5-year suspended sentence, but was [released in June 2022](#), after serving nearly a year in prison.

PFLP Activity

In May 2019, Shatha Odeh attended a memorial event organized by the PFLP for PFLP political bureau member Rabah Muhanna, who, according to information posted by the terror group, “contributed to the establishment” of several PFLP-affiliated NGOs, including Union of Health Work Committees (UHWC), UAWC, and Addameer. The hall was decorated with PFLP paraphernalia.

In January 2020, in response to EU anti-terror regulations governing grant agreements with NGOs that prohibit relationships between grantees and Palestinian terrorist groups, Odeh stated, “We disagree with the European Union on the list... which includes seven political organizations and classifies them as ‘terrorists.’ For us, they are national liberation movements.”

Tayseer Abu Sharbak

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Accountant - According to his May 2021 indictment in Israeli military court, he began working as an accountant for HWC around 2009.

NGO Role(s)

According to a May 7, 2021 article in the Times of Israel, Tayseer Abu Sharbak served as HWC’s accountant.

According to his April 2022 conviction, Abu Sharbak “was involved in money laundering, falsification of documents and using those funds for PFLP activities” (on file with NGO Monitor).

He was convicted of membership in an illegal organization and was sentenced to 16-months in prison.

According to his May 2021 indictment in Israeli military court, he began working as an accountant for HWC around 2009 after being recruited by Walid Hanatsheh (on file with NGO Monitor). As part of his role, he was responsible for the NGO's annual balance sheet, the financial cycle, and the deposit and withdrawal of funds from the NGO's bank accounts.

According to HWC, he was released in June 2022.

Said Abdat

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Accountant - According to his indictment, Said Abdat served as HWC's accountant from 2001-2019

NGO Role(s)

According to his indictment, Said Abdat served as HWC's accountant from 2001-2019 (on file with NGO Monitor).

PFLP Activity

Abdat was arrested in May 2021 and is currently on trial.

According to his indictment, Abdat is accused of a series of crimes, including membership and activity in an illegal organization – the PFLP – and holding a position in an illegal organization. In this context, the indictment describes his alleged actions to forge documents and present fictitious information regarding humanitarian activities in order to obtain funds from international donors, primarily in Spain.

Amro Hamouda

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Head of purchasing - According to his indictment a May 7, 2021 article published in the Times of Israel, Amro Hamouda served as HWC's head of purchasing from 1998-2019.

NGO Role(s)

According to a May 7, 2021 article published in the Times of Israel, Amro Hamouda served as HWC's head of purchasing from 1998-2019 (on file with NGO Monitor).

Terror Activity

Hamouda was arrested in May 2021 and is currently on trial.

According to his April 2022 conviction, Hamouda "joined the organization [HWC] in 1998 with the knowledge that the organization belongs to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" (on file with NGO Monitor).

He was convicted of membership in a banned organization and received a 26-month prison sentence.

According to his indictment, Hamouda is accused of holding a position in an illegal organization - the PFLP. In this context, the indictment describes his alleged manipulation of financial records and documents, and presentation of fictitious information regarding humanitarian activities, in order to obtain funds from international donors, primarily in Spain.

Daoud Ghoul

Affiliated NGO: Health Work Committees (HWC)

NGO role: Director of youth programs, director of development projects
- Listed in 2016 as HWC’s “director of youth programs.” HWC’s 2014 annual report refers to him as the “director of the development projects and programs in Jerusalem.”

NGO Role(s)

Ghoul served as HWC’s “[director of youth programs.](#)” HWC’s 2014 annual report refers to him as the “[director of the development projects and programs in Jerusalem.](#)” Daoud Ghoul also worked in HWC’s Nidal Center in “[managerial positions at the Nidal Center and in the \[HWC\] association.](#)”

Previous Terror-related Conviction

In 2016, Ghoul was convicted for his membership in the PFLP and was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

According to a Jerusalem District Court verdict [67637-03-16], “at a date prior to 2006, the appellant [Daoud Ghoul] joined the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine organization, worked in management positions at the Nidal Centre, a place of activity for the organization [PFLP], and in the Union of Health Work Committees-Jerusalem [Health Work Committees]...the framework under which the organization [PFLP] began to operate after the Nidal Centre was closed in 2009. In that capacity, the appellant organized – among other things- trips, extra-curricular activities and summer camps for youth- some of which were named for terrorists that were active in the organization- and organized visits to the families of fallen and incarcerated members of the organization.” (On file with NGO Monitor)

Halima Abu-Solb

Affiliated NGOs: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P), Addameer

NGO role: Board member (DCI-P) - According to DCI-P, Halima Abu-Solb was elected to DCI-P's board from April 2016-2018. According to a November 2014 Ma'an article, Abu-Solb was elected to DCI-P's general assembly from 2014-2016. Co-founder (Addameer) - In a March 2013 interview, Abu-Solb acknowledged that she is one of Addameer's founders

NGO Role(s)

According to DCI-P, Halima Abu-Solb was elected to DCI-P's board for a period of two years, April 2016-2018. A November 2014 article published in Ma'an also notes that Abu-Solb was elected to the organization's general assembly for a period of two years in 2014.

In a March 2013 interview, Abu-Solb acknowledged that she is one of Adameer's founders.

Previous Terror-related Arrests

According to a June 2007 Al-Watan article, Abu-Solb was sentenced to a three year "PFLP prison-sentence," and in a March 2013 interview, Abu-Solb acknowledged that she was sent to prison in the 1980s for a period of three years.

PFLP Activity

In a July 2012 article on its website, the PFLP reported that Abu-Solb spoke at a conference organized by the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counselling.

According to an undated Al-Ayyam article, Abu-Solb participated in an event with the wife of the PFLP secretary general Ahmad Sa'adat at a "Land Day" commemoration event organized by UPWC's Bethlehem branch.

Mary Rock

Affiliated NGO: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO role: Board member - According to DCI-P, Mary Rock was a DCI-P board member in 2014-2018

NGO Role(s)

According to DCI-P, Mary Rock was a [DCI-P board member](#) in [2014-2018](#).

PFLP Activity

Rock was a [PFLP candidate](#) for the Palestinian Legislative Council in [the 2006 elections](#), and attended a [2012 PFLP event](#) in Bethlehem.

Suliman Shahin (Shaheen)

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: UAWC-Gaza employee - According to his Facebook profile, Shain worked at UAWC in Gaza, prior to his death in 2014.



Source: Facebook page "stories on the killing of the martyr engineer Suliman Ibrahim Shahin"



Following his death, the PFLP released an official eulogy poster mourning on Shahin, “the PFLP’s lost” and referring to him as “the engineer comrade”

NGO Role(s)

According to his [Facebook profile](#), Shahin worked at [UAWC in Gaza](#), prior to his death in 2014.

PFLP on Suliman Shahin

Following his death, the PFLP released an [official eulogy poster](#) mourning Shahin, “the PFLP’s loss” and referring to him as “the engineer comrade.”

PFLP Activity

Shahin was part of the PFLP’s [Progressive Student Action Front \(PSAF\)](#), [the student arm of the PFLP](#).

According to the PFLP-linked *Al-Hadaf* news outlet, in September 2021, an [official PFLP delegation](#), including PFLP senior members, visited and honored Shahin’s family on the anniversary of Shahin’s death. PFLP Central Committee member Daoud Al-Bareem described Shahin as “the role model of committed comrade, the son of a PFLP family that we take pride in and the son of the historic fighter Ibrahim Shahin ‘Abu Jihad’.”

Sharing violent content

Shahin shared a number of images on his Facebook page, calling for or showing acts of violence.

Majed Nassar

Affiliated NGOs: Health Work Committees (HWC), Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO roles: Executive Director (HWC) - Two Palestinian news sources listed Nassar served as HWC's Executive Director in 2007. Board member (DCI-P) - Nassar was a DCI-P board member in at least 2007-2009

NGO Role(s)

Majed Nassar previously served as HWC's [Executive Director](#) and [Deputy Director](#). Nassar was also a DCI-P [board member](#) in at least [2007-2009](#).

Terror Activity

According to a 2007 document edited by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Jerusalem, Israel has [prevented](#) Nassar from traveling "since 2001," a decision upheld by the High Court.

Nassar co-wrote *The Palestinian Intifada: Cry Freedom*, a [2002 book](#) that praises Palestinian terrorism:

- "The Palestinian resistance movement has therefore concluded that every checkpoint, every soldier and every settler are legitimate targets in the struggle for freedom and independence, thus rendering all theories and strategies of supremacy irrelevant. In essence then, everything becomes a target: Jerusalem, Haifa, Hadera, Tel Aviv, Ashkelon, the settlements, the checkpoints, the military installations and even the Israeli Ministry of Defense" (page 94).
- "No Palestinian accepts that the political parties that have struggled over the last fifty years should be regarded as 'terrorist organizations,' simply because their cause of liberation is anathema to the United States and its stepchild, Israel" (page 117).

PFLP Activity

The British paper *The Independent* identifies him as a [PFLP member](#) in a January 2002 article in which Nassar criticizes Yasser Arafat for ordering the arrest of PFLP General-Secretary Ahmed Sa'adat.

NGO Officials Appearing at PFLP Events

Riyad Arar

Affiliated NGO: Defense for Children International-Palestine (DCI-P)

NGO role: Director of the child protection program - Identified as the director of DCI-P's Child Protection Program in a May 2019 Ma'an segment. He previously served in other roles in the organization, including directing the group's Hebron office until at least August 2015.



Arar addressed a December 2014 PFLP memorial event (Uploaded to YouTube by "من ينيظ دن وسح", December 27, 2014).

NGO Role(s)

Identified as the director of DCI-P's Child Protection Program in a May 2019 Ma'an segment. He previously served in other roles in the organization, including directing the group's Hebron office until at least August 2015.

According to a January 2011 DCI-P newsletter, Arar is closely involved in coordinating the NGO's cooperation with UNICEF on "monitoring human rights violations."

PFLP Activity

In December 2014, Riyad Arar participated in a PFLP event honoring PFLP member Muhammed Jawabreh. According to the PFLP, commanders, leaders and members of PFLP attended the event. The event featured PFLP paraphernalia and individuals clad in military garb – some of whom appear to be children (video on file with NGO Monitor).

In February 2018, Arar spoke at a Palestinian Prisoner Forum event in Hebron alongside "senior" PFLP official Badran Jaber.

Rezeq Al-Barghothy

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Board member - Al-Barghothy served as Chairman of UAWC's Board of Directors until 2019 and was identified by Arabic-language media as a member of UAWC's board as of July 2021.



Al-Barghothy participating in sit-in “in solidarity” with Palestinian prisoners who were on a hunger strike.
Source: Al-Ayyam, June, 29, 2016

NGO Role(s)

Al-Barghothy served as [Chairman of UAWC's Board of Directors](#) until 2019 and was identified by Arabic-language media as a member of UAWC's board as of [July 2021](#).

PFLP Activity

According to [several Arabic-language news outlets](#), in July 2021, Al-Barghothy spoke on behalf of the PFLP at the funeral of PFLP senior member Khalida Jarrar's daughter, Suha, who was a former Al-Haq employee.

In April 2016, during “prisoner day” events, Al-Barghothy was described in Palestinian media as “[the representative of Ahmed Saadat, head of the Popular Front](#).” In June 2016, he participated in a sit-in “[in solidarity](#)” with Palestinian prisoners who were on a hunger strike. He was photographed standing in front of a PFLP banner and holding PFLP signs.

Jaber Qarmout

Affiliated NGO: Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)

NGO role: Administrative council member - A May 2018 UAWC's Facebook post listed Qarmout as a member of UAWC's administrative council.



Jaber Qarmout celebrating the “martyrdom” of his brother Zidan Qarmout, with PFLP members, including a commander in the Abu Ali Mustapha Brigades (2017). Source: PFLP, February 25, 2017

NGO Role(s)

According to a May 2018 [UAWC's Facebook post](#), Qarmout is a member of UAWC's administrative council.

PFLP Activity

In [2017](#) and [2016](#), Qarmout, alongside PFLP members, commemorated the “martyrdom” of his brother Zidan Qarmout, a [PFLP “field commander.”](#) According to the [PFLP](#), Zaidan Qarmout, “a field commander in the...[PFLP military wing] Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades in the North Gaza Strip [sector],” was killed on his way to carry out one of his “combat missions” in the North of the Gaza Strip in February 2004.

During the events, PFLP members hailed Zaidan Qarmout and “his fighting path and heroic stance.” In 2014, Qarmout [attended a graduation ceremony](#) organized by the Progressive Student Action Front, the PFLP's “[student organization.](#)”

Sumoud Sa'adat

Affiliated NGO: Addameer

NGO roles: Researcher, Documentation officer - Since 2011, Sumoud Sa'adat has held multiple positions at Addameer, including as a research assistant, documentation officer, and field researcher.



PFLP link: Participation in PFLP events, daughter of Ahmad Sa'adat

NGO Role(s)

Since 2011, Sumoud Sa'adat has held multiple positions at Addameer, including as a research assistant, documentation officer, and field researcher.

PFLP on Sumoud Sa'adat

On October 5, 2016, the official PFLP website published an article by Sa'adat and referred to her as a "comrade."

Sumoud is the daughter of PFLP Secretary General Ahmed Sa'adat.

PFLP Activity

In March 2019, Sa'adat participated in a PFLP event commemorating the 13th anniversary of PFLP Secretary-General Ahmad Sa'adat's arrest by Israeli forces. The event was attended by PFLP senior members and featured the PFLP's insignia.



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